

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 179459
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY EUR:GVEST:DKM
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY
S/S-0:SGOLDSMITH

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O 302242Z JUL 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 179459

NODIS
CHEROKEE - FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: XGDS, 3

TAGS:PFOR, UR, US

SUBJECT:MEETING WITH THE SOVIET CHARGE

1. SUBSEQUENT TO YOUR MEETING WITH KUZNETSOV WE DECIDED IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO FILL IN GROMYKO ABOUT WHAT I WILL TRY TO DO ON MY MIDDLE EAST TRIP. SATURDAY I CALLED IN THE SOVIET CHARGE, VASEV, FOR THAT PURPOSE. IF YOU DEEM IT USEFUL, YOU MAY REPEAT THE FOLLOWING POINTS AT YOUR END AT THE APPROPRIATE LEVEL.
2. I ASKED VASEV TO CONVEY MY IDEAS ON DRAFT PRINCIPLES AS A FRAMEWORK FOR GETTING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE UNDERWAY. BECAUSE OF OUR JOINT RESPONSIBILITY AS CO-CHAIRMEN I WANTED GROMYKO TO KNOW THE BASIS OF MY THINKING AND HOW I WOULD APPROACH MY CONVERSATIONS WITH LEADERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST DURING MY FORTHCOMING VISITS THERE. I STRESSED THAT I WOULD
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NOT BE DISCUSSING THESE VIEWS PUBLICLY, AS WAS MADE CLEAR DURING MY PRESS CONFERENCE ON FRIDAY JULY 29.

- A. OUR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE- ARE:
- (1). THE GOAL OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IS A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT EMBODIED IN PEACE TREATIES.

(2). THE BASIS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IS FOUND IN SC 242 AND 338.

(3). IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE PEACE WHICH IS CALLED FOR IN SC 242 WILL BE THE TERMINATION OF THE STATE OF WAR AND ALSO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS ARAB NEIGHBORS, INCLUDING THE EVENTUAL ESTABLISHMENT OF TRADE AND FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLES.

(4). IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT WITHDRAWAL UNDER SC 242 WILL TAKE PLACE TO MUTUALLY AGREED BORDERS ON ALL FRONTS--NORTH, SOUTH AND EAST.

(5). WITHDRAWAL AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACEFUL RELATIONS COULD BE PHASED OVER A PERIOD OF YEARS IN PARALLEL AND SYNCHRONIZED STAGES. SECURITY OF THESE STAGES AND OF FINAL SETTLEMENT COULD BE ENHANCED BY SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AS AGREED BY THE PARTIES. NOTE THAT IT IS OUR JUDGMENT THAT IF THERE IS TO BE A SETTLEMENT IN THE LIGHT OF KNOWN ARAB ATTITUDES, THOSE BORDERS WILL HAVE TO BE CLOSE TO THE 1967 LINES. WE HAVE SO INDICATED TO THE ISRAELIS.

(6). FINAL SETTLEMENT WILL HAVE TO PROVIDE FOR PALESTINIAN ENTITY AND A MEANS OF ENSURING PALESTINIAN ADHERENCE TO THE PEACE TREATY. THE PALESTINIAN ENTITY SHOULD NOT

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BE MILITARIZED AND THERE SHOULD BE PROVISION FOR OPEN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAEL. MEANS SHOULD BE SOUGHT TO PERMIT SELF-DETERMINATION BY THE PALESTINIANS IN DECIDING ON THEIR FUTURE STATUS.

B. THESE ARE GENERAL PRINCIPLES ADDRESSED TO THE CORE PROBLEM AREAS. AS FOR PROCEDURE, THERE ARE REALISTICALLY ONLY TWO WAYS TO PROVIDE FOR PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION AT GENEVA, EITHER INCLUSION IN AN ARAB NATIONAL DELEGATION SUCH AS THE JORDANIAN DELEGATION, OR INCLUSION IN A PAN-ARAB DELEGATION. WE WILL URGE THE ARABS WHO HAVE DIFFERING VIEWS TO AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES ON ONE OF THESE APPROACHES. I BELIEVE WHAT I HAVE SAID ON THIS POINT IS CLOSE TO THE SOVIET VIEWPOINT. (VASEV CONFIRMED THIS IS SO.) IF WE CAN PROVIDE FOR PALESTINIAN PARTICIPATION IN THIS FASHION, THEY IN TURN WILL HAVE TO ACCEPT SC 242 AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION, WITH A RESERVATION THAT 242 DOES NOT ADEQUATELY COVER THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THEY WOULD ALSO STATE THAT THEY ACKNOWLEDGE THE RIGHT OF ISRAEL TO EXIST AS A NATION.

C. SINCE I LEAVE FOR CHINA AUGUST 20, I HOPE DOBRYNIN

WILL BE ABLE TO RETURN A FEW DAYS BEFORE SO

WE CAN DISCUSS HOW GROMYKO AND I MAY USEFULLY WORK
FURTHER AS CO-CHAIRMEN. (VASEV MENTIONED DOBRYNIN'S
PRESENT PLAN IS TO RETURN AUGUST 20, BUT HE WOULD
CONVEY THE DATES). VANCE

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APPROVED BY: S/S:SGOLDSMITH

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 179459

NODIS

CHEROKEE FOR Z. BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 179459 SENT ACTION MOSCOW 30 JUL 77

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 179459

NODIS

CHEROKEE - FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM THE SECRETARY

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UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
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Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 30-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
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Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
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Subject: MEETING WITH THE SOVIET CHANGE
TAGS: PDEV, PGOV, PBOR, US, XF, UR, (VANCE, CYRUS R), (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH)
To: MOSCOW
Type: TE
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